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FREE COMMUNING;

OR

A LAST ATTEMPT

TO CURE

THE LUNATICS,

Now labouring under that dreadful Malady, commonly called

THE FRENCH DISEASE.

There is a generation that are *pure* in their own eyes, and yet is not washed from their filthineſs. PROVERBS XXX. 12.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

FREE COMMUNING, &c.

CHARACTERS.

Mr. TIMOTHY CRAB, *a Reformer*, and
Mr. CHARLES HEARTY, *a Royaliſt.*

H. YOUR very humble ſervant, Mr. Timothy, I hope you're well.

C. Middling, middling.

H. Any news to-day, Mr. Crab?

C. No.

H. I hear Mr. Egalité has got his weak head and his wicked heart put aſunder.

C. What's that to ſay?

H. Why, his head is off. Don't you think he has deſerv'd it? he is caught at laſt in his own net. A promiſing example to all Scoundrels, who, to gratify their vanity, and ſatiate their avarice, don't care into what horrors they may, by their conduct, plunge their country.

C. Orleans has ſuffer'd very juſtly; he had formed deſigns againſt Liberty.

H. You are right in both parts of your propoſition: it was eaſy to ſee, from the firſt ſpunking out of the French Revolution, that that Monſter was endeavouring ſome deſperate ſtroke. The ſeemingly voluntary humility of the hypocrite—his preaching down Titles and Diſtinctions;—his throwing up his own, and taking, in its room, a ridiculous appellation to pleaſe the vulgar;—and all this ſo ſuddenly in a Prince of the Blood of France, might have opened the eyes of his countrymen: But, when he afterwards voted away the life of his uncle's Son, his Sovereign as well as his near relation, all men muſt have ſeen, that the drift of his

his villainous conduct, was to ſeat himſelf upon the throne of that unfortunate Victim of Treaſon and Rebellion, diſguiſed as Patriotiſm. But juſt vengeance has followed his crimes.

C. —Certainly. He was put to death for conſpiring againſt Liberty.

H. He was. But had it been poſſible to bring him alive, and execute him a ſecond time for the murder of his couſin, can you ſay he did not deſerve it?

C. Well. He was a traitor to his country, was he not?

H. He ſurely was; for he knew, that, had he ſucceeded in his attempts, his ill-gotten power could not have been ſecured to him, upon the principles of a mild and equitable limited monarchy. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that, with his deſign of uſurpation, he had coupled a plan of Abſolute Power. The aſſaſſinations contrived by Egalité, and executed by Marat, and others of his minions, ſhow plainly that the intention of the Orlean faction,

was to bring things in France to ſuch a pitch of horror, that the perſons themſelves who were dipt in the Revolution, as well as the quiet and well-diſpoſed, would have been at laſt glad to take refuge under *any ſort of government.* Then was the time, when the partizans of Egalité would have brought him forward, and put him upon the throne. I am, Mr. Crab, as much an enemy to tyranny in a King, as I am to it in Levellers and Republicans. I ſee in Orleans a maſked villain, who attempted to enſlave his country, and a monſter, who murdered his uncle's ſon under the ſame maſk.

C. Well, well, Mr. Hearty, that's over. It is all over with him now.

H. It is ſo; and would to God that the dreadful conſequences which Europe is now experiencing, through the conduct of him and his aſſociates, were laid as quiet as he now is.

C. I tell you, Mr. Hearty, we had no buſineſs with the French. If we had taken the advice of that *honeſt* gentleman, Mr. Fox, we would have treated with them, and acknowledged

ledged them. I can likewiſe tell you, that if *we* had got *our* reform, we would not have been now engaged in a murderous war.

H. I thank you, Mr. Crab, for being ſo explicit: Your term *murderous* war, I don't however ſo well underſtand. The war now raging in Europe is bloody enough, God knows, as all good men muſt lament, but yet not different from other wars; for I never heard that the Allies *murder* any of their priſoners; on the contrary, I believe they are kindly treated. But if your term applies to the tranſactions of your *friends* in France, I can underſtand it; *There* indeed murder has became *the order of the day*, beggaring all former deſcriptions of ruthleſs doings in the annals of civilized men. No republican or leveller can deny, that *human fleſh and blood has been eaten and drunk in public coffee-houſes in that country of woe and horror.*

C. Very well. We hear a great deal about that; but what objections have you againſt a Reform? I ſay, if we had got a reform, we would——

H.

H. Mr. Crab, you have interrupted me. With regard to your propoſition, that a reform would have prevented a war with France, I ſhall allow it ſo far, that I believe, before a reform could have been agreed upon, to meet the fancies, humours, and intereſts of the different perſons who, at the time you mean, diſguiſed and ſtill diſguiſe their intentions under that name, we would have got ſo by the ears among ourſelves, that a civil war, the moſt dreadful of all human calamities, would have enſued. This, to be ſure, would have ſo effectually prevented our warring againſt France, that France might have warred againſt us to the certain ruin of the country, and of all parties in it. I don't, therefore, think that ſuch an exchange of circumſtances would have been in our favours.

C. But there was no occaſion for a war with France; and a civil war was not to be dreaded. To avoid the firſt, we had nothing to do but to acknowledge the French Republic: as to the ſecond, I think it's plain, that if the refuſal of a reform has not produced it, much leſs would the granting one have done it.

H.

H. There we differ. To people who have no other view but the intereſt and happineſs of their native country, little reflection was neceſſary to ſee, that, at a time when men's minds were agitated by new and various political objects around them, concerning which a vaſt difference of opinion was entertained, the leaſt interference with the conſtitutional machine, might have been attended with very diſaſtrous and unexpected conſequences: witneſs France, which began with reform highly commendable, but which has ended with ſcenes more terrible and heart-rending than ever were acted before in Europe.

C. Yes, yes. That's always the way, '*This* '*is not the time for reform.*'

H. Upon my word it is not. I appeal to every man's conſcience if it is; that is to ſay, if he does not wiſh the overthrow of our conſtitution. That thoſe who do harbour that wiſh ſhould vociferate for reform, is natural enough, becauſe *reform is a trap* in which they will catch aſſiſtants to their ſchemes, who would per-

perhaps *at preſent* boggle at going the whole length in their deſigns.

C. Mr. Hearty, I don't underſtand all that ſort of language. We have no views but a reform in parliament—look at the reſolutions of our ſocieties, and the whole of our *public* procedure; it *points* at *nothing* elſe.

H. I know the *public* reſolutions of your ſocieties point at a reform. But when the ſame men who ſit in theſe ſocieties make it their buſineſs wherever they go, to attempt to ridicule the monarchical eſtabliſhment—to rail at the ariſtocracy—to bring in *innuendo* upon *innuendo* againſt the general policy of the conſtitution—to enlarge upon, and draw falſe inferences, as to taxes, public expences, &c.—to juſtify the enormities of the French, and to praiſe their Syſtem of Equality—and, laſtly, wickedly and worſt of all, to appeal upon every occaſion to the paſſions and prejudices of illiterate uninformed men—I ſay, all this conſidered, there is little room left for doubting what it is your ſocieties *point at.*

C. There are calumnies rais'd againſt the *cauſe* of reform.

H.

H. For my part, Mr. Crab, I wiſh theſe gentlemen would ſay, *at once*, explicitly, what they would be at.—It would be much ſafer for the peace of the country, if they would come forward, and publicly avow all thoſe anti-monarchical, republican, and levelling principles, which they *privately* diſſeminate. But they know they dare not do that, becauſe the ſenſe of the nation is againſt theſe principles. They rather chooſe to proceed in the ſtile of moles, and to carry by ſap rather than by aſſault——in this they are wiſe. If no other objections, however, ſtood at this time againſt reform, the very parties themſelves afford one.—You'll find *ſome* who wiſh to carry it to *this* extent—another to *that*—a third entertains a different idea of the matter, and laſtly the famous *ci-devant* BRITISH Convention of Edinburgh ſpring *their* mine of Univerſal Suffrage to the diſgrace and ſcandal of the whole corps.—Pray Mr. Crab, do you think any good could come out of this Babyloniſh diſparity of views? It puts one in mind of the ſituation in which Butler deſcribes the reformers to be, who had the cooking of the roaſt after they had murdered Charles the Firſt.

'Some were for keeping up a King,
'But all the reſt for no ſuch thing,
'Some for fulfilling prophecies,
'And the extirpation of the Exciſe.
'Some for *aboliſhing* black pudding,
'And eating nothing with the blood in;
'While others were for eating haunches
'(To abrogate them root and branches.)
'Of warriors, and now and then,
'The fleſh of Kings and mighty men.'

In ſhort, my opinion, Mr. Crab, is, that before we can ſit down to ameliorate or conſtitution, we muſt be in ſuch a temper as to afford reaſonable expectation, that our attempts will not make things *worſe* than we found them.

C. Very well. Reform or not reform, I ſuppoſe you will find it hard to juſtify the conduct of thoſe who have engaged us in this war with France, ſo ruinous to our commerce, and burdenſome to the nation.

H. I muſt deny your concluſion, Mr. Crab, that the war is ruinous to our commerce: Indeed ſo far is that from being the caſe, that our trade is carried on very nearly in as much ſafety as in a time of profound peace. The French privateers, which *you* reformers told us, were

to

to ſwallow up our trade in all quarters of the world, are either in Britiſh ports, or laid up at home for want of proviſions to enable them to go to ſea again.

C. Very true. But before going home, they have fleec'd us pretty well, I ſuppoſe.

H. Fleec'd, do you ſay? No, no; I ſuppoſe you'll find the reck'ning is infinitely againſt *them*, even taking into the account the ſhips which (robber-like, and contrary to the law of nations) they ſeized in their ports, when *they declared war againſt us.* And now their ſhips of war, their privateers, and their merchantmen, dare ſcarce peep out of port, ſo well are they kept in awe; and their late excluſion from the ports of Leghorn, Malta, &c. completes the ruin of their trade in the Mediterranean.

C. But you have not anſwered *my* queſtion. I ſay, whom is the nation obliged to, for doing *us* this good ſervice of plunging *us* into a war *we* had nothing to do with?

H. I ſhall endeavour to tell you that preſently. I did not ſhift anſwering your queſtion;

but the concluſion you drew, that the war had been ruinous to our commerce was ſo erroneous, that I thought it beſt to put you right in the firſt place, as to that point.

C. Softly, ſoftly, Mr. Hearty; admitting that all you have ſaid, as to the ſafety of our navigation, were true, has not the nation loſt *monſtrouſly* by its trade with France being at an end?

H. Good, Mr. Timothy, that won't do. Its trade with France at an end! what has the trade of France with Britain been worth, ſince the troubles commenced in that country? or even were France to be at peace with Britain to-morrow, what has ſhe to give in return for Britiſh goods? or where is the man who would truſt her merchants?

C. By your leave, Mr. Hearty, how is it then the French are able to make returns to the Swedes and Danes, for the corn they are now purchaſing from the merchants of thoſe nations?

H. Their returns do not come from the

mer-

merchants of France, I assure you, but from the *monsters* of rapine and impiety who now rule, (or rather misrule) that country, who pay the Swedes and Danes in gold and silver, sacrilegiously plundered from the churches, or robbed from the nobility and others, who had the *misfortune* to be rich. So many rascals are daily dipping their fingers in this golden fountain, that it must soon fail. Then will come the *final* tribulation of France; for famine must ensue, when these villains have carried off with them, into the different countries where they may find it convenient to fly, the only commodity the nation can spare wherewith to purchase corn.

C. And pray, when and how do you propose to end this war? What is its object? And who are to pay the expences attending it?

H. I was just going to have given you an answer to a question of yours, which I have not yet touched upon, *viz.* Who it was that excited this war with France.

C. Well, who was it, then?

H.

H. It was the *friends of the people* and the French.

C. That is a very ſhort anſwer.

H. It may ſeem ſtrange, to be ſure, that the *friends* of the people ſhould *engage the people in war*, but the paradox is reſolved, when we conſider, that the people may have *pretended* as well as *real* friends.

C. Pray, how do you make all that out?

H. Why, Mr. Crab, I think it's pretty plain, that if thoſe gentlemen the French had wiſh'd to live in peace with us, they would have juſt gone on with their revolution-buſineſs quietly, without aſking us any queſtions. But what do they do? they ſend over a perſon to pick a quarrel by an enſnaring demand, which they knew, whatever way we anſwered it, would involve us in trouble. The challenge was given in theſe words, "*Do you acknowledge the* "*French Republic?*" If we anſwered in the negative, we drew upon us the reſentment of the *red caps*, alias *mad caps*, of that country. If we ſaid yes,

yes, we called down upon ourſelves the vengeance of all Europe ; the war, in the latter caſe, would have been *Great Britain* and *France* verſus *all Europe*. I certainly think it is better in its preſent ſhape, even laying out of the queſtion every conſideration but commerce; for the trade and friendſhip of mad-exhauſted France, torn with internal diſſenſions, would have been but a ſorry recompence to us for the loſs of the friendſhip and trade of all the reſt of Europe. Our Miniſters, to their everlaſting honour, ſtood firm upon this occaſion, and of two evils did wiſely make choice of the leaſt, by boldly and laconically anſwering the challengers, NAY. The French leaders were reſolved upon war, at all events ; for war ſuited their views, as much as peace would have done ours. They well knew, that an external war would unite their own people againſt a common enemy, and divert them from ſcrutinizing *their* conduct, which of all things they dreaded moſt. They had tried the patience of the Britiſh Nation, firſt, by the offenſive decrees of their Convention, whereby they pretended to aſſume to themſelves the office of judges between all the governments

vernments of Europe, and their reſpective people. Then they encouraged all the diſaffected and mutinous Engliſhmen, who came to their bar with thoſe congratulations and addreſſes, which but too well marked the treacherous deſigns of the authors of them. When theſe ſteps had failed to involve us with them, they next purſued the one I have mentioned. Conſiſtency with our own proceedings obliged us to ſend away their Ambaſſador. They now had what they wanted, and forthwith declared war, and ſeized upon the Britiſh ſhipping in their harbours; threatening at the ſame time our allies, they attempted, to overrun Holland, to the deſtruction of the liberties and independence of all the countries of Europe.

C. But what had the friends of the people to do with all this? How were they to be acceſſary to the war?

H. The Friends of the people, by their public congratulatory addreſſes to the French Convention, and their underhand connection with the Jacobines, did certainly inſpire the idiot French with a notion that this country was ripe for

for embracing their principles, which no doubt was an additional inducement to them, to daſh ſo precipitately into a war with Britain.

C. That is only *your* ſuppoſition.

H. Why, I believe it was the ſuppoſition of the French themſelves; at leaſt it is not eaſy to account in any other way, for their raſh conduct towards this country. Indeed the preſent Rulers of France ſeem to hint at this, when they make it one of the principal charges againſt Briſſot and his party, that they involved their country in a war with Britain; which bythe bye is a confeſſion from our enemies, that they themſelves were the aggreſſors. Thus I have given you my opinion concerning the occaſion of the war, the object of which was *at firſt* ſelf-defence, France being the commencer of hoſtilities, for which ſhe had indeed long before been treacherouſly preparing; as appears by her having ſent a more than than ordinary force to the Eaſt Indies.

C. Juſt ſo; but our allies being now relieved, what is the object of the war at preſent?

H. In anſwer to your queſtion, I muſt firſt obſerve to you, that, abating every other cauſe of quarrel with the monſters of France, this country, and all Europe, are juſtified in endeavouring to cruſh the baleful example which *they* have held up to the world, by introducing and ſupporting a ſyſtem of government, which, in its conſequences, would ſoon go to extirpate human kind from off the face of the earth. The chief advantage which men propoſe to themſelves by regular government, is protection to follow their lawful employments. The new ſyſtem of France is completely deſtructive of that, and of every ſocial bleſſing, becauſe it puts *all* men upon a political footing; thereby holding up a temptation to the factious, the turbulent, or the baſe, to *diſappoint* ſociety of that *peace*, which is the prime end of all the ſocial compacts or governments among men. For the everlaſting tumbling and toſſing for that ſuperiority, which ſuch an *equality* puts it in the power of the meaneſt perſon to ſtrive for and attain, and the atrocities which mean men will not heſitate to commit, to get at their purpoſe, will, while human

nature

nature is human nature, produce nothing but anarchy and confuſion. Your pretended champion, Mr. Fox, has declared in parliament that he will not conſent that *the French ſcheme of univerſal repreſentation* ſhall make any part of the plan of reform, which *he* is to countenance; no wonder if he, or any man in his *ſenſes*, ſhould ſhudder at the idea of it, after the dreadful conſequences it has produced in that European country, where a recent experiment has been made of it. Although it would appear, that neither example nor reaſon has been ſufficient to ſubdue the propenſities of the traiterous lunatics of the *ci-devant* Britiſh Convention at Edinburgh.

But the more immediate objects of the war are worthy of the great nation that has undertaken it, viz. to repel injuries, to procure indemnification for loſs, and to obtain ſecurity for future good behaviour on the part of the aggreſſors. It is indeed, as I have ſaid, a war undertaken by the conſent (either tacit or avowed) of *all Europe*, in defence, and for the wellbeing of the human race: A war which ſtands unparalleled in the annals of the world, as well for the glory of its object, as the number and power of the nations, who have unfur-

led their ſtandards in its behalf. In ſhort, it is a war of the Civilized World not againſt France, but againſt an aſſembly of private villains, who, having terrified the people of that country into ſubmiſſion to their meaſures, by unheard-of murders, aſſaſſinations, and proſcriptions, are entertaining themſelves with dreams of treading upon the necks of *all mankind*, under the pretence of liberty and a republic, of which they expect to have the lead.

C. Theſe are great matters; but I muſt have ſome other proof than your *ipſe dixit* for all this.

H. I refer you to the practice of the French themſelves, which is the beſt proof of their principles. Did they not, at their outſet, abjure *all ideas of conqueſt*; but ſcarcely had the perjurers ſworn it, when they entered their neighbour's territory, impoſing magiſtrates, changing the laws, robbing churches, murdering individuals, and blotting the ſun with their crimes.

C. Yes, yes, yes—we hear a great deal about that always, but what have we to do with them? we are interfering with the internal govern-

government of their country, which we have no right to do.

H. If we ſhould, it is no more than they have done to us, by *encouraging* thoſe among us, who are diſaffected to the King and the Conſtitution of their country, and by affecting to diſtinguiſh between our government and the people. But their example is too foul to be imitated. I deny that we have ever interfered with them in the formation of a government for themſelves. I am of opinion, that neither we, nor any nation, have a right to do ſo.

C. What? Have you not procured Lewis the XVII. to be proclaimed at Toulon, and taken poſſeſſion of the ſhips of war there in truſt for him?

H. Yes, we have aſſiſted the loyal French at Toulon to proclaim the young King; and we have taken charge of the ſhips there to hold them in truſt for the nation. This we did upon the principle, that one neighbour ought to aſſiſt another in diſtreſs. The Touloneſe were of opinion, that their acknowleging the young King would be the beſt mean to put an end to the

the calamities, under which their country lay oppreſſed.—They aſked our aſſiſtance and protection, and we granted it; thus at once facilitating one of the principal objects of the war (the reſtoration of order and a ſtable government, with which we could ſafely treat) and adminiſtering to the wants of the famiſhed inhabitants of that wretched city, where not a ſhop had been opened for four years. You may call this dictating a government to the French, if you will, but wiſe men will ſay, that *it was a meaſure of charity and ſelf-defence*, as much ſo, as it would be to take charge of a mad man's property, until he came to his ſenſes, or to hold his hands to prevent him from imbruing them in our blood.

C. What do you mean by 'a Government 'with which you could treat?' Why, you might have treated at the beginning with thoſe who *held*, as you may now with thoſe who *hold*, the power in France.

H. Upon my word, you make me laugh, Mr. Crab. Pray, who has now the power in France, and has had it ſince the memorable

10th of Auguſt? the mob of Paris, to wit.—It is needleſs to ſay that the Convention hold the Government, or that the Committee of Safety, or any other of their juntos hold the ſupreme power—ſince Mr. Chauveline left England, the ſovereign mob have changed their ſervants half a ſcore of times. Where is Le Bruin? where is Rolland? whereis Briſſot? &c. they are gone, where their ſucceſſors may go to-morrow; ſome to the guillotine, and others to the d—l. Now, what would a treaty, made with people in the ſituation of ſuch *mob-made ſovereigns*, ſignify? A new ſet come, perhaps in a week after, who overturn and violate every iota of it, while poor old England, acting with good faith, is going on diſmantling, and ſo becomes an eaſy prey to the villainy and treachery of her enemies.

C. Did not Mr. Fox adviſe to treat with the French leaders? do you diſpute *his* judgement?

H. However I may diſpute his judgment, I certainly queſtion his ſincerity. Had Mr. Pitt treated with France, at the time Mr. Fox gave the

the advice in parliament you mention, he would have expoſed his country to certain ruin, as is very well proved by the circumſtances which have ſince happened in France, and in other countries of Europe.

C. It may be ſo—it may be ſo. But who is to pay the expences of the war?

H. The French I hope. If *they* are able to battle *all Europe* much longer, they will need more than *human* aſſiſtance, and I don't think they can have any reaſonable expectation, that *divine* aid will be interpoſed in their behalf.

C. But ſuppoſe *they are able, without divine aſſiſtance,* to make *us* give up, who then will pay our loſs?

H. Not the *pretended* friends of the people, I aſſure you.

C. What do you mean? do you think that *our* ſocieties are to leave the country and go to America?

H. I don't know where *your* ſocieties intend to go; but I am doubtful if all the gentlemen who

who compoſe them will be welcome gueſts in America, for *ſome* of you have ſuch *ſublime* notions of what you call *liberty* (but which may with more propriety be call'd *anarchy*), that your ideas are incompatible with any finite notions of ſubordination: But if your rout is for France, I dare ſay a majority of the nation will vote you paſs-ports thither, there to be fraternized in blood, and ſee your dreams of a *pure republic* carried *moſt completely* into practice.

C. You are very witty, Mr. Hearty; but pray what do you mean when you ſay, that the Friends of the People will not pay the expence of the war with France? Does not *every* man contribute to the public expences, who pays taxes?

H. No, he does not. And ſome of your heads are ſo thick, or your hearts ſo bad, that you either *cannot*, or *will not*, put your ignorant votaries right, as to that grand error, which they, and all inconſiderate people fall into, with regard to the payment of taxes.

C. What, Sir? Do you treat me like a fool?

do you tell me, with my eyes open, that every man who pays taxes *does not* contribute to the public expence?

H. I don't treat you like a fool, but you treat yourſelf like a fool, when you decide peremptorily upon a thing which, I dare ſwear, never coſt you ten minutes ſerious reflection.

C. As how, Mr Hearty?

H. Mr. Timothy, if you will be mannerly, I ſhall explain to you *my* notion of taxes. I believe you will allow, that the bulk of thoſe perſons who *call themſelves* friends of the people, are either retailers, artificers, or day-labourers. All thoſe, to be ſure, pay taxes; but obſerve in what way they reimburſe themſelves: The retailer charges his cuſtomer with the taxes he pays, and the artificer, or day-labourer, includes *his* in the amount of his wages, or the price of his workmanſhip. Do you think workmen's wages, or prices, would be ſo high as they now are, if they had fewer taxes to pay than at preſent they have?

C.

C. Who is it, then, upon whom the public expences do fall?

H. Upon the land-proprietor, or monied man, who, being neither concerned in trade, nor occupied in manual labour, has no other means but money wherewith to discharge taxes.—Now, I believe, there are not many monied men, nor land-proprietors in *your* societies; of course you may make yourselves easy as to the expences of the war.

C. O, very good, to be sure; but does not the land-proprietor shove his taxes upon his tenant, when he lets his lands to him, in the same manner as the mechanic or labourer lays them upon his employer?

H. The land-owner, being the proprietor of that *commodity*, which is not only the subject of almost all trade and commerce, but also the only source of human subsistence and employment, is, agreeably to the principles of natural justice, entitled in common with his fellow-subjects, to every benefit derived to him from his situation, and may accordingly dispose of his property to the best advantage. He therefore lays such a

rent upon his lands, as, from the market-prices of the uſual articles of farm-produce, his tenant can afford to pay. Out of this rent he pays his taxes, whereby his property ſuffers an abſolute defalcation, which he has no means of replacing; whereas the farmer knows where to reimburſe himſelf for his taxes, which he accordingly does out of the pockets of the purchaſers of his produce. They again ſhift the taxes from off themſelves upon others, who uſe their labour, or purchaſe their commodities; and ſo on, every one throws the evil from his own door; and in this manner is it bandied about, until it comes to the threſhold of the annuitant, or the land-proprietor, who muſt inſtantly ſatisfy the unwelcome viſitor, not with *labour* or *goods*, but with *caſh*.

But, ſays Anarchy, while he ſcowls like a thief, the lairds pay their taxes with their money, and the merchants with their profits, but the labouring man pays *his* with the ſweat of his brow. Yes, Sir, anſwers an *honeſt* man, when *you*, by your induſtry, ſobriety, application, or talents, ſhall be able to purchaſe an eſtate,

ſtate, neither will *you* need to employ the ſweat of your brow, O but, continues the man, your *ancient* lairds and lords (they ſay) got their eſtates for *nothing*. So would *you* have fared, replies the byſtander, if your forefathers had been as early in the field as they were. 'Firſt 'come, firſt ſerv'd,' you know. If you will but go *juſt now* to ſome parts of the world, you'll find plenty of land without an owner, and may furniſh yourſelf with an eſtate *for nothing*, provided you can muſter a ſufficient number of your kindred to help you to cultivate it, and protect it, as was the caſe about a thouſand years ago in Scotland. But, continues the man, (they ſay) ſome of the gentry got their eſtates from the *old Kings*--what right had the king to give away lands? The ſame right, anſwers the byſtander, which King George the Third has to grant public favours to thoſe who deſerve them. The kings of this country have always been, and by law are, Stewards for the Nation, and Diſtributors of its Bounty.

C. You are very learned in theſe matters; but ſtill and ſtill taxes are evils.

H.

H. Indeed, Mr. Crab, I am ſo far from being ſatisfied with your propoſition, that I am rather of opinion, that high taxes benefit the labouring and commercial world.——We all know very well, that the merchant makes a profit of every new tax the ſtate may lay on, by ſliding in a little for himſelf along with the charge againſt his cuſtomer. And as for the artificer or labourer, *their* wages bear always a proportion to their taxes, and that proportion is the more in their favour, the higher they are taxed. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that high taxes, inſtead of being an *evil*, in a country partly agricultural, and partly commercial, as our is, do rather *promote* the intereſts of the trading and labouring part of ſociety: But this doctrine is not without limitation; for whenever the proprietors of land are obliged to circumſcribe their way of living, it then appears that land has fallen in its value, which proves, that the export trade of the country is declining, and that again proves that the taxes we pay are too high, becauſe then the prices of our manufactures cannot meet thoſe of other countries at the foreign market.

market. But, thanks to God, this is so far from being the case at present (notwithstanding the war) that the Nobility, the Gentry, and the Merchants never liv'd with more splendor, dispensing comfort to all the other classes of their fellow men, whom it has pleased Providence to place in their different stations.

C. I have *my own* opinion of these things; *I say* we are an unhappy people.

H. Yes, Mr. *Crab*, every man *must* be unhappy, who endeavours all he can to *convince himself* that he is so.—Farèwel.

FINIS.

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